UNITY

FREEDOM · FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

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begins in this issue of "Unity"

his Autobiography entitled

"The Story of My Experiments with Truth"

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UNITY

A Journal of Religion in Democracy

UNITY was the first American paper to discover Gandhi, of India. When the great Mahatma was unknown even to newspapers, UNITY hailed him as "the greatest man in the world." Its files contain the most complete record of Gandhi and his work that exists in this country, and are continuing this record of original documents, special articles, editorial comments regularly and beginning April 5th will publish his Autobiography in weekly installations.

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Contents

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EDITORIAL—
Gandhi and America—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.. 83
Editorial Correspondence: American Notes—REV. SYDNEY STRONG..... 86
ARTICLES—
The Story of My Experiments with Truth—Introduction—MAHATMA GANDHI 85
The Tyrant State and How to End It—WALTER WALSH 88
Twelve Tests of Education—W. WALDEMAR W. ARGOW 91
POETRY—
To Gandhi—VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH..... 83
Aspirations (A Group of Poems) MURIEL STRODE 92
THE STUDY TABLE—
Dreiser's New Novel—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.. 93
Tabloid Review—CURTIS W. REESE..... 93
CORRESPONDENCE—
Self Government vs. Authority—F. W. GARRISON 94
Gandhi and Tolstoy—HENRY C. LIPPINCOTT.... 94
Ways to Peace:
I. VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW..... 94
II. R. A. MUNRO..... 94
Jenkin Lloyd Jones—F. K. GILLETT..... 95
THE FIELD—
Resolutions Passed by the General Council of the U. D. C. 95
Christian Work merged with *The Christian Century*..... 95

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVII MONDAY, APRIL 5, 1926 NUMBER 6

TO GANDHI

Hail to you, Gandhi, loyal heart and true,
O Brother of the Spirit, hail to you!

No greater gift to man can Heaven send
Than you possess—to be to all a friend.

The gift of love—to feel the boundless worth
Of e'en the poorest soul that dwells on earth.

No one so low, degraded, or ill born,
To whom you give indifference or scorn.

No one whose need you do not deeply feel.
No evil mind you would not cleanse and heal.

Your wide benignity like light of sun
Enfolds us all and finds the many one.

You to an age confused by selfish greed
Make clear that love is our chief mortal need.

Unto such gentleness, such love and light
Shall yield at last the darkness of our night.

We at your call our faith in love renew,
O Brother of the Spirit, hail to you!

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

Gandhi and America

It is easy to interpret Gandhi to America. The men and women of this country, in spite of the gross materialism of their lives, are idealists at heart, and the idealism implicit in Gandhi's words and deeds thus make an irresistible appeal. I have presented the story of the Mahatma to many audiences in various parts of the United States in recent years. Some of these audiences have been composed of more or less conventional persons in churches and clubs, others of working-people in forums and popular assemblies; many of them have been young people in our academies and colleges. Always, without exception, the tale of what Gandhi has been doing in India, especially the interpretation of his exalted ideals and of the noble character sprung from these ideals, has been received with rapture. A few years ago Gandhi was comparatively unknown in America; today his name is held in reverence by millions not because they know or care particularly about the problems of India, unfortunately, but because they have discovered in the Mahatma a contemporary saint and hero akin to the few supreme spiritual leaders of history, and instinctively they respond to the sublime appeal of his personality.

But this is only one side of the shield! Along with this admiration of the character of Gandhi as a man, so native to the idealistic impulses of Americans, goes a profound scepticism, or rather dazed wonder, as to the practical aspects of the program of Gandhi as a statesman and a teacher. Men and women in this country look upon the Mahatma very much as they look upon their own Christ—as the marvelous embodiment of a life beautiful to contemplate but utterly impossible of application. The Nazarene, as we know, has long since become to the typical Christian a sort of divine image to be worshipped, rather than a master to be obeyed or a leader to be followed. In somewhat the same way is the Indian viewed by the typical American as a miraculous picture of spiritual perfection, infinitely lovely, like the stars, just because so far above and beyond all human reach. It is amusing, and also pathetic, to see the confusion of the members of an American audience, deeply moved by the story of Gandhi's life and teaching, when exhorted to accept this great man as an example and apply his principles to their own lives as individuals and citizens. They cannot believe that such an appeal is serious—any more than they can believe that an appeal based on Jesus's maxims, "Resist not evil," "Love your enemies," etc., is serious!

It is this fact that moves even those of us who feel nearest to Gandhi's spirit, to view with something like consternation the proposal, now and again suggested, that the Mahatma visit this country and address our people. This idea opens up possibilities as devastating as the eschatological idea of the second coming of Christ. Gandhi in person in America would undoubtedly be a spectacle of impressive spiritual grandeur, and might move the nation in a way which would mark an epoch in our history. But it is more likely that the spectacle would be regarded as the mob regards the spectacle of a mysterious juggler or marvelous athlete. Men would gape and stare, perhaps applaud—and that is all. So far is Gandhi's exalted plane of life from our real experience! So removed

is his pure soul and its program of life from anything that we know or even understand!

This failure or refusal to take Gandhi seriously enough to test the worth of his ideals in real life, may well be taken as an indictment of what I have called the essential idealism of Americans. Such an indictment, however, would be unfair. Americans are sincere in their idealism. At the present time they are simply disillusioned by the shocking experience of the War, and excitedly overwhelmed by the fat prosperity of these piping days of peace. Disillusionment, corruption, reaction are the distinctive notes of the period. But deeper than this, and far more fatal to the integrity of their idealism, is the contradiction which the American people have discovered between their own best moral impulses and the outward conditions of the society in which they live. The typical American, today as yesterday, knows what are the true ideals of life, and he wants to realize them in his daily affairs. In this consists his idealism! But as he looks at his civilization, as he surveys the political and economic system by which he is confronted, as he wrestles with the vast machine of production and distribution in which he has become so hopelessly entangled, as he studies the facts of money, wage-labor, riches and poverty, capitalism and imperialism, armies, navies and ceaseless wars, he finds himself completely baffled as to how to apply his idealism and live at all. Our western social order is in its very essence the defeat of our ideals and religion. It is a stupendous monument reared above and thus pressing down upon our dead hopes and faiths. Materialism is conquering spirituality, Caesar overthrowing Christ; Mammon dethroning God. Whether we will or no, we westerners are *caught* in the machine of our own mad devising. As spiritual beings we are being destroyed by the Frankenstein which we have ourselves builded. We are in the dreadful position of looking upon our own extinction and being able to do nothing to save ourselves. The Great War was the perfect illustration of our predicament. Nobody wanted it before it came, except a few conspirators in the chancellories of St. Peterbsurg, Paris, Vienna and Berlin. Everybody would gladly have stopped it after it began, except a few soldiers eager for fame and the exercise of their art. Yet the War came as inevitably as some awful cataclysm of nature, and continued, like a storm, till it had spent itself. And now, to our almost crazed despair, we see ourselves, as though clutched by some cruel fate, preparing for another and final war. Materialism is by its very nature a thing of death, as spirituality is similarly by its very nature a thing of life; and now that materialism is with us so triumphantly, the shadow of death, in spite of all the surface splendor of our deeds, already hangs heavy upon us.

It is from just this doom, I take it, that Gandhi is seeking to save India, and through India the world. He sees the fate that has befallen us in the West moving slowly but surely to the destruction of the East. Before it is too late he would stay this menace—rescue the already half-captivated people of his country from the fell influences of alien arms, alien money, and alien life. As yet India, if politically a slave, is still "the captain of her soul." She can recognize a Gandhi as the child of her own great and beautiful spirit, and receive him as the practical redeemer of her sins. But the very fact that there are today in India those who hesitate and doubt, who talk about what they call "more practical measures," who point to what they acclaim as the efficiency and potency of the West, shows how deep the poison of materialism has already entered India's veins. Mahatma Gandhi today, like Jesus of Nazareth yesterday, is "the way, the truth, and the life." He presents the one real program of individual and social redemption because he has found the will of God. He would save India and the East before it is too late. And in his success or failure in this mighty task, rests the destiny for centuries to come of all that is most precious with us in America and the West.

In many ways this is a critical hour for Gandhi and his movement. He seems himself to indicate his realization of this fact by his retirement for a year to rest his body and refresh his soul ere he takes up his work again. At such a time nothing can be quite so important as a fresh statement from the Mahatma himself of his experience, ideals, methods, program, and hope. This he has chosen to give in the fascinating and potent form of an autobiography, telling the story in detail of his "experiments with truth"—the truth of love, and its application to life in terms of non-resistance. More patiently, courageously and drastically than any other man in human history has Gandhi carried through his experiments in this vast field of moral and spiritual idealism. To a greater extent than is anywhere recorded in human experience, has Gandhi achieved success in these dangerous and romantic experiments. When we want to demonstrate that non-resistance is practicable in the hands of those who have at once the courage and the faith to use it, we may get evidence from the heretical sects of the Middle Ages, from the Quakers, from the Bahaists, but in the case of no single life is testimony so abundant and so impressive as in the case of the great Indian Mahatma. Gandhi has proved the power of love as Newton proved the pull of gravitation and Darwin the process of evolution.

The telling of such a triumph marks an epoch in human experience. Gandhi's autobiography, now in course of publication in India, and beginning publication in this country in this issue of our paper, is a supreme event in the field of confessional literature and a challenge to the conscience of mankind.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

INTRODUCTION

At the instance of some of my nearest co-workers I agreed four or five years ago to write my autobiography and also made the start. But I had scarcely turned over the first sheet when riots broke out in Bombay and the work remained where it was. This was followed by a series of events which culminated in my imprisonment in Yeravda. Sjt. Jeramdas who was a fellow-prisoner with me there asked me to leave everything else and finish writing the autobiography. I sent him the reply that I had already framed a course of study for myself, and that I could not think of the autobiography before going through the course. I should indeed have finished the autobiography had I had my own full innings at Yeravda. But there was still a year left to reach the task, when I was discharged. Swami Anand has now repeated the proposal, and as I have finished the history of Satyagraha in South Africa, I am tempted to undertake the autobiography for *Navajivan*. The Swami wanted me to write it separately for publication as a book. But I have no spare time. I could only write a chapter week by week. Something has to be written for *Navajivan* every week. Why should it not be the autobiography? The Swami agreed to the proposal, and here am I at the autobiography. But a God-fearing friend had his doubts, which he shared with me on the day of my silence. "What has set you on this adventure?" he said. "Writing an autobiography is a practice peculiar to the West. I know of no one in the East who has not come under the Western influence having written one. And what will you write? Supposing you reject tomorrow the things you hold as principles today? Or supposing you revise in future your plans of today? Is it not likely that the men who shape their conduct on the authority of your word, spoken or written, would be misled? Don't you think you would be better advised in writing nothing like an autobiography just yet, if at all?"

The argument had some effect on me. But it is not my purpose to attempt a real autobiography. I simply want to tell the story of my numerous experiments with truth, and as my life is nothing but those experiments, it is true that the story will take the shape of an autobiography. But I will not mind it, if every page of it speaks only of my experiments. I believe, or at any rate flatter myself with the belief, that a connected account of all these experiments will not be without benefit to the reader. My experiments on the political field are now known not only to India but to a certain extent to the "civilized" world. For me they have not much value, and the title of "Mahatma" that they have won for me has therefore even less. Often the title has deeply pained me and there is not a moment I could recall when it might be said to have tickled me. But I would certainly like to narrate my experiments on the spiritual field which are known only to myself and from which I have derived such power as I have to work on the political field. If the experiments are really spiritual, then there can be no room for self-praise. They will only add to my humility. As I reflect more and more, and look back on my past, my limitations are ever so much more vivid to me. What I want to achieve, what I have been striving and pining for these thirty years, is self-realization, *i. e.*, to see God face to face, *i. e.*, to attain *Moksha*. I live and move and have my being in the pursuit of this goal. All that I do by way of speaking or writing and all my ventures in the political field are directed to the same end. But as I have all along believed that what is possible for one is possible for all, my experiments have not been conducted in the closet, but in the open, and I do not think that that fact detracts from their spiritual character. There are some things done which are known only to oneself and one's Maker. These are clearly incommunicable. Those experiments I am about to relate are not such. But they are spiritual or rather moral, for religion is morality. Only such matters of religion that can be tackled as much by children as by the young and the old, will be included in this story. If I can narrate them in a dispassionate and humble spirit many another experimenter will find in them provision for his onward march. Far be it from me to claim any degree of perfection for these experiments. I claim for them nothing more than does a scientist who though he conducts his experiments with the utmost accuracy, forethought and minuteness, never claims any finality about his conclusions, and keeps an open mind regarding them. I have gone through deep self-introspection, searched myself through and through, and examined and analyzed every psychological situation. And yet I am far from claiming any finality, or infallibility about the conclusions I have arrived at. One claim I do indeed make and it is this. For me they are absolutely correct, and seem for the time being to be final. For if they were not, I should base no action on those conclusions. But I have at every step carried out the process of acceptance or rejection and acted accordingly. And so long as my acts satisfy my reason and my heart, I must firmly adhere to the original conclusions.

If I had only to discuss academic principles, I should clearly not attempt an autobiography. But my purpose being to give an account of various practical applications of those principles, I have given the articles I propose to write the title, "the story of my experiments with truth." These will of course include experiments with non-violence, celibacy and other principles of conduct believed to be distinct from truth. But for me truth is the sovereign principle, and includes numerous other principles. This truth is not only truthfulness in word, but truthfulness in thought also, and not only the relative truth of our conception, but the Absolute Truth, the Eternal Principle, that is God. There are innumerable definitions of God, because His manifestations are innumerable. They overwhelm me with wonder and awe and for a moment stun me. But I worship God as Truth only. He alone is real, all else is unreal. I have not yet found Him, but I am after Him. I am prepared to sacrifice the things dearest to me in pursuit of this quest. Even if the sacrifice demanded be my very life I hope I am prepared to give it. But as long as I have not realized this Absolute Truth, so long must I hold by the relative truth as I have conceived it. That relative truth

must, meanwhile, be my beacon, my shield and buckler. Though this path is strait and narrow and sharp as the razor's edge, for me it has been straightest and easiest. Even my Himalayan blunders have seemed trifling to me because I have kept strictly to this path. For the path has saved me from coming to grief, and I have gone forward according to my lights. Often in my progress have I had faint glimpses of the absolute Truth, God, and the conviction that He is only Real, all else is unreal, is daily growing upon me. Let my world, that is, those who read this or who keep themselves in touch with me, know how the conviction has grown upon me, let them share my experiments and share also my conviction if they can. The conviction has also been growing on me that whatever is possible for me is possible for even a child, and I have sound reasons for so saying. The instruments for the quest of truth are as easy as they are difficult. They may appear quite impossible to an inflated person, and quite possible to an innocent child. The seeker after Truth should be humbler than the dust. The world crushes the dust under its feet, but the seeker after Truth should so humble himself that even the dust could crush him. Only then, and not till then, will he have a glimpse of Truth. The dialogue between Vasistha and Vishwamitra makes this abundantly clear. Christianity and Islam also amply bear it out.

If anything that I write in these articles strikes the reader as smacking of pride, he must take it that there is something wrong with my quest, and that my glimpses are no more than mirage. Let hundreds like me perish, but let the Truth triumph. Let us not reduce the standard of Truth even by a hair's breadth in judging erring mortals like me.

I hope and pray that no one will regard the dicta interspersed in the following chapters as authoritative. The experiments narrated should be regarded as illustrations in the light of which every one may carry on his own experiments according to his own inclination and capacity. I trust that to that limited extent, that is, as illustrations, they will be very helpful. Because I am going to conceal or understate no ugly things that must be told. I hope to acquaint the reader fully with all my faults and errors. My purpose is to describe experiments in the science of Satyagraha and not at all to describe how good I am. In judging myself I shall try to be as harsh as truth, as I want others also to do likewise, and measuring myself by that standard I must exclaim with Surdas:

> Where is there a wretch so wicked and loathesome as I? I have forsaken my Maker, so faithless have I been.

For it is an unbroken torture to me that I am still so far from Him who I fully know governs every breath of my life, and whose offspring I am. I know that it is the evil passions within that keep me so far away from Him, and yet I cannot get away from them.

But I must close. I can take up the actual story only in the next chapter.

M. K. Ghandi.

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

You may put it down that almost everything that is said about America is true and untrue—so kaleidoscopic is the life. One may say, "lo, here" and another say, "lo, there"—and like as not it is neither here nor there. May be, therefore, the truest picture of American life is to be gained from a succession of snap-shots. At any rate, let me resort to this method at this time.

I.

Last night I listened over the radio to the closing speeches in the local election, when the people are to choose a mayor and vote on the "manager-form" of municipal government. Two of the leading champions of the old style and the new had been chosen to debate—and there was a judge, just why a judge one hardly knows, save to preserve the form of fairness. They went at the invisible audience as vigorously as in a hired hall. (The one person lacking was the heckler. It remains for someone to invent the heckler for a radio speech.) One of the debators declaimed how the manager-form would be a departure from the "democracy of the fathers" while the other pleaded for business efficiency in the handling of municipal affairs. The most interesting feature, however, about this debate was not the radio, nor the question for discussion, but the names of the participants: Eckstein, a Jewish-American; Schellenbacher, a German-American; Moriarity, an Irish-American. Here was Nathan Eckstein pleading for the democracy of the "fathers and Louis Schellenbacher pleading for business efficiency in government, with an Irishman, Judge Moriarity, seeing that each had fair play. This is a real picture of America, and as characteristic as anything may be said to be characteristic.

II.

Here's another picture! During 1925 over 24,000 were killed in automobile accidents. Since 1917, more than 123,500 lives were sacrificed on the altar of the automobile—more than were killed in the World War. This appears to be too many to suit even those who like big things and big figures—though please remember that there is an automobile for every family in America—so attempts are being made to put a stop to such extravagance in killing. Here are some of the things suggested: Uniformity of state and municipal traffic laws, compulsory jail sentences, prison sentences for persons convicted of driving while intoxicated. A national conference convenes this month in Washington, D. C., for considering motor accidents. Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover is anxious to get pre-war safety on streets and highways. Most Americans, as usual, are placing the chief blame upon "the courts."

III.

Here is a picture illustrating what is happening to many of the younger generation of Americans, to those who are getting in touch with the Orient. I received a letter, last week, from two young Americans, missionaries in China. I quote a couple of paragraphs. Number one:

> "We are pretty thoroughly sold to the Orient, and get in a bit of pro-Chinese propaganda frequently. We would thoroughly approve of putting some mission money into spreading Chinese ideals in America. . . Haven't we been trying to lead them too much, or rather, haven't we misled them too much already? Perhaps the most important thing in our

American-Oriental relations is to teach America more about the civilization, the life and ideals of the East."

And now for the second paragraph:

"We have two Fenchow man (Chinese of course), returned this fall from studying in America. One is so thoroughly a 100-percenter that he's a nuisance, but he'll probably recover in time. It's odd to hear him arguing here for American speed and efficiency with an American."

This is an illuminating picture, and one is tempted to remark, that if the young folks were given "freedom of the seas" international problems would find solution in each championing the ideals of the "other."

IV.

It is sometimes thought that the tide of migration is all one way with the United States. Such is not the case. Many United States citizens settle in Canada. During the last fifteen years 87,107 citizens of one state, Michigan, went to Canada as settlers; 86,922 from Minnesota; 77,752 from Massachusetts; 75,466 from Washington; 74,067 from New York; 51,402 from North Dakota; from many others from 30,000 to a few hundred. This means that during the last fifteen years close to 750,000 American citizens have settled in Canada—or 50,000 a year. Does this contain a hint to Australia?

Here is a picture that is of interest! I recently attended a meeting addressed by Rabbi Lewis Newman, who spoke in the interests of a United Palestine. The Jews of America are out after a big fund for development of that land. While listening, I learned that in all the world there were 16,000,000 Jews—"of 57 varieties," remarked Dr. Newman. Of these, 4,000,000 are in the United States, with 6,000,000 or 7,000,000 in eastern Europe. The Jews of America are rich and prosperous, while the Jews of eastern Europe are in a sorry plight. The colonization of Palestine was held out as a plan of hope. Dr. Newman described the colony of "Balfoura" with its irrigation and orchards and announced that the project was not "for the return of the Jews to Zion," but to create a "Jewish center." There were now 150,000 in Palestine. It all seemed to be a striking picture, this learned Jewish rabbi, in a Temple in America, pleading for the understanding and support of a colonization scheme in far off Palestine—with plenty of better land close at hand. Again, it is the case of a mingling of racial, political and religious motives combining to organize and promote a colony in a distant place. Some of the pious folks are drawn by the fancy that in this "sacred land" even the "birds sing in Hebrew" and the "dogs bark in Hebrew," and, of course, "the language of heaven is Hebrew." It is to be said that Britain does not frown upon this enterprise.

V.

And here are two pictures of life in a mid-west city—Kansas City! At the dedication of a new educational building, Rev. A. L. Evans of the First Baptist church delivered himself of the belief that the Bible is being replaced by reason, logic and science; that the glorification of Old Testament characters in Sunday School is dangerous and a mockery.

Because Abraham lied with impunity is no reason why we should glorify him to our children in this modern age. The ethics of his age are not, fortunately, the ethics of today. We have no business dragging them into modern religious education.

And these remarks were seconded by Rev. L. M. Birkhead of the leading Unitarian church of the city. . . . This is liable to stir up the orthodox circles. Such speeches are looked upon as a come-back from anti-evolution legislation and "monkey-trials." . . . The second picture is that of the teachers of the same city of Kansas City meeting together and drawing up 10 Points, by which they will be able to judge their own fitness to teach. Here are the penetrating questions which they are supposed to ask themselves as they stand before the glass:

Neatness—Are my habits of personal cleanliness the best? Do I keep my personal effects orderly?

Broadmindedness—Am I ready to recognize worth in others? Have I respect for the opinions and beliefs of others? Have I the ability to consider both sides of the question?

Courtesy—Do I try to manifest a real spirit of thoughtful kindly helpfulness?

Dependability—Am I punctual in meeting all engagements and agreements?

Loyalty—Have I a sense of responsibility for the welfare of the business with which I am connected? Do I make my personal interests secondary to my business interests?

Cooperation—Have I an ability and willingness to work with others?

Leadership—Have I the ability to plan and carry out projects of various sorts?—to win the cooperation of others?

Honesty and *Sincerity*—Have I the strength to be honest under all circumstances? Am I straightforward and unaffected?

Perseverance—Have I the ability to stay with a task until it is finished, against odds?

Self-control—Have I the ability to hold the mastery of myself under trying circumstances? Have I the ability to be pleasant and considerate even though others are unfair and irritable?

And thus the teachers of Kansas City are searchingly examining themselves as they look in the glass each morning. Here is, perhaps, an echo of the old Puritan spirit that appears strongly, at times, in American life.

VI.

And one more picture! It presents a sentimental side. Last Sunday, the body of Eugene Field, the "Children's Poet," was removed from Graceland Cemetery, Chicago, to the cloister of the Church of the Holy Comforter, Kenilworth. Scores of little children mingled with the throng and sang some of Field's songs. A fitting eulogy was spoken by Judge Jesse Holdom, a personal friend of the poet, closing with a recitation of "Little Boy Blue."

Aye, faithful to Little Boy Blue they stand,
  Each in the same old place,
Awaiting the touch of a little hand
  And the smile of a little face.
And they wonder, as waiting these long years through,
  In the dust of that little chair,
What has become of our Little Boy Blue
  Since he kissed them and put them there.

And this also is America. SYDNEY STRONG.

BROTHERS

They were blood brothers, formed and featured so,
  They were as like as ever wing with wing.
Yet were they different as bloom and snow,
  The white of winter and the white of spring.
For one was brother hardly to himself,
  And one was more than brother to the world.
And one saw only what was on his shelf,
  And one saw every pool with stars impearled.

—ROBERT WHITAKER.

The Tyrant State and How to End It

I would in the first place speak of the *State in contrast with the literary fragment commonly spoken of as "The Sermon on the Mount." Society shows signs of breaking up into groups more or less anarchic, and it beseems us to be wide awake to the signs of the times; so that we may not be caught like the foolish virgins in the ancient parable, with no oil to our lamps, but that, when the crisis comes, we may be found like the wise virgins, having the oil of knowledge in our lamps radiating the light of truth upon surrounding chaos; if chaos it is to be.

THE STATE *v.* SOCIETY.

Let us clearly distinguish between *Society* and *The State*. What do I mean by the State? By the State I mean the whole body of a nation collectively, as it were, gathered up into, represented through and dominated by, its Executive, whether such Executive be a Parliament, Senate, Congress, Reichstag, Soviet, or what you please. For practical purposes, the *Government* is the State; and in that popular sense I shall refer to it this morning.

Society is different, being social, while Government is political. Society is nothing but human beings in voluntary association. It may be the association of the *family* held together by *affection*, or the association of the *tribe* united by common *interest*, or the association of the *State* maintained by *compulsion*. This last is not truly a social condition since it is based on and maintained by *violence*, by coercion of the unwilling.

At various times in their long careers, nations are called on to choose between Society and the State. A nation may be situated like a traveller who has been journeying over a single road which suddenly branches off into two directions. He cannot then jog on just as he did before. Hitherto there was one road, but now there are two, and he must make his choice. There have been times when the inhabitants of Great Britain had to choose whether they would be the servants of Society or the slaves of the State; and such times may come again. Human beings cannot exist without some sort of Society, but they can exist very well without the State. They have often done so, and in many parts of the world they do so still. Hence the wisdom of the saying: "That is the best Government which governs least." The tyrant State supersedes local customs and suppresses local administration in order to gather all power into its own hands, and to secure by force what would not be accorded to it through love. It necessarily takes the side of *property*, because power goes with property, whether in land, goods, investments, or gilt securities. It exerts its power to exploit the people, to keep them poor by forced taxes for war, and to utilize their bodies as cannon-fodder. The last thing a State will do is to disband its army and sink its navy to the bottom of the sea; as, by so doing, it would deprive itself—not only of the power to grab the possessions of other peoples, but of the power to keep its own people in subjection. No moral consideration whatever will persuade the State to disarm; it will disarm only when the moral enthusiasm of its people compels it so to do. It will convene sham Conferences on Disarmament in order to delude the people into the belief that everything is being done, when in reality nothing is being done; and the people are thus withheld from taking real steps of their own towards the goal. So far from anxiously desiring to disarm, the State is by nature forced to rely more and more on military systems, till, by conscription and universal military service it devours the entire substance, souls, and bodies of its slaves. Not till the bitter cry of the people brings forth a Moses, as it was with ancient Israel in Egypt, will the military Pharaoh slacken his grip. The militarized State resembles a householder who props up his falling house with planks, pillars and scaffoldings, and so contrives to keep it from tumbling down, but only by making it impossible to be lived in. The militarized State may stand; but life within it becomes less and less supportable. The time unerringly comes when a despairing people rises against it. Then do the stories of Egypt, Babylon, Jerusalem, Rome, France, Russia, repeat themselves.

THE SERMON.

Turn we now to the Sermon. Everybody ought to know, and every preacher should tell his audiences, that the literary extract known as "The Sermon on the Mount" was not really a sermon delivered by a Jewish prophet from a Mountain top, but a classical bit of Jewish-Christian literature compiled in later days, and put into the mouth of the supposed Jesus of Nazareth as a summary and compendium of the new Idealism. That does not diminish its moral value in the least; for moral value is determined—not by the speaker, but—by the truth spoken. Did all the gods of the Pantheon swear to a lie, that would not make it true. What truth does the Sermon contain?

The Sermon contains sufficient truth to be the destruction of every military State whatever. It is packed as full of splendid social revolution as a bomb is packed with anti-social devilry. The Serman contains the *kind* of truth that disintegrates every system of violence, whether Pharaoh's chariots and horsemen, Nebuchadnezzar's Image of Gold, or Great Britain's "got the ships and got the men and got the money too." This is consistently seen by Statesmen and by the Churchmen who are their allies. Both of these perfectly understand that the State is undone as soon as the people begin to examine it in the light of the Sermon. Whence arise their persistent efforts to persuade the people that the Sermon has nothing to do with the present day world, nothing to do with politics, nothing to do with the State but only with the future, with a life to come, with the Kingdom of Heaven; and in a certain sense that is true.

In what sense? In the sense that the Jewish-Christians of the early period thought the State was to come to a speedy end, because the whole world was coming to an end, and the Messianic Kingdom of God was to be set up—that righteous heavenly Kingdom set forth in the Book of Daniel; the Kingdom which was to annihilate all other kingdoms, whether of gold, or brass, iron or clay; and was to fill the whole earth. Hence the Jewish-Christian story of the New Testament represents its Messianic Man as rejecting the suggestion of the Devil that he should set up a despotic kingdom of his own on this earth, and as fleeing from the people when they wanted to make him king. They

*An address delivered before the Free Religious Movement in London, England.

represent him as teaching that the Kingdom of God would not come by *earthly* but by *heavenly* violence; by the angelic hosts and the flaming fires of an avenging heaven.

HENCE THE BEATITUDES.

In so short-lived a world, what was the use of bothering about property or the rights of man? Blessed are the poor, the meek, the merciful, the pure, the peacemakers, the persecuted; for their's is the coming kingdom of heaven, and great shall be their reward therein! In every particular we get a *contrary* between the State and the Sermon. The contrariety can be traced point by point.

The State offers *protection* against violence by *inflicting* violence in its turn; while the Sermon eliminates the very principle of violence: *Be not angry.* The State undertakes to *safe-guard the person* against attack by *punishing* the attacker for assault and battery; but the Sermon says, *If a man smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also.* The State attempts to preserve some *legal rights* among its citizens, but the Sermon recommends that *if a man compels us to go with him one mile, we should go with him two miles.* The State endeavors to secure us in our *property,* but the Sermon says contemptuously, Pooh, what about property, *If a man take away your coat, let him have your cloak also.* The State tries to protect us from the *thriftless and incompetent* by putting beggars and homeless folk in prison, but the Sermon advises to *give to those who ask, and not to turn away from those who would borrow.* The State fortifies itself by the *swearing* of solemn oaths, but the Sermon advocates just common honesty, *Let your yea be yea, and your nay, nay!* The State undertakes to *collect our debts* for us, but the Sermon sweeps aside the entire fabric of finance and law, *Forgive us our debts as we forgive those who are in debt to us!* And so it was. Very soon, to be sure, other ideas and interests entered into the Christian writings; but in the first stages—well, you have heard! The world was coming to an end, even in the life-time of the first disciples, so why should they worry to scrape and save, and take each other to law, and defend themselves against robbers, and fight for their rights! Let them forego all those material things, and their losses would be far more than made up to them when the time came—as it speedily would—the time when they should be promoted to sit on twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel, and the entire Pagan world should be despatched post haste to Gehenna:—"When the Lord Jesus (the Messianic Man) shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels, in flaming fire taking vengeance on them that know not God, and that obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power": —Thus the writer of the Epistle to the Thessalonians terrifically describes the approaching doom of the non-Christian world. I wish my Christian Pacifist friends, who try to build the whole case for peace on the New Testament would ponder and take into account this element of celestial frightfulness that runs through it; and would seek a broader foundation for peace ethics in the moral nature of man, whether Jew, Pagan, Turk, or Heathen Chinee!

THE IDEALIST A TROUBLER OF THE STATE.

The death of their Messianic Man was a necessary part of the early Christian scheme. The State abhors an Idealist, and there is no character more detested by the politician than is the prophet. "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" cried the villain Ahab to the prophet Elijah. The champions of justice are always regarded by the tyrant State as nuisances. That is why the New Testament story represents its hero as being hated by the politicians and by the State of his day, and as saying to his followers, "They will also hate you." When it is one man against the State the battle generally does end with the man on the cross, whether Plato's Just Man, or Christianity's Son of God. The idea may ultimately prevail, but its advocate is destroyed. The truth-speaker, the reformer, the agitator, the innovator, the image-breaker—that type is always feared and hated by the ruling powers, and hustled out of the way by one means or another—prison, the block, the gallows, if he won't be quiet, if he prefers martyrdom to a peerage. With perfect truthfulness—truth of philosophy as well as of history—it is attributed to the Galilean that he did not bring peace on earth, but strife; division of opinions, discord in families, division in countries, wrangling sects, fanatical parties, hard orthodoxies and fluid heresies uncountable. In that unavoidable way, all reformers are stirrers-up of strife. Merely to speak a truth is to stir up strife with those who refuse to accept it. Merely to advocate justice is to set the whole world of privilege and property into a roar. As the great aim of States is to preserve their own rule and authority, they necessarily proceed to suppress the agitator and propagandist and rebel. Government, in fact, is a conspiracy against individuality and the rights of man. The State is like the tyrant in Shakespeare's *Richard Third:*

> I will converse with iron-witted fools,
> And unrespective boys: *none are for me*
> *That look into me with considerate eyes.*

IDEALS TRANSCEND AND EVEN SUPERSEDE LAWS.

I am well aware, and have often told you, that the New Testament story admits of various interpretations. But while it is true that the so-called "Sermon on the Mount" applied in the first place only to a world that was about to come to an end it is also true that there, as elsewhere, we get great ideals set forth, an enshrinement of permanent moral values, shining impracticabilities, glorious impossibilities that beam forth like stars in the firmament to light the way of benighted travellers and lift the eyes of earthly pilgrims to the heaven of their dreams. The star is not a *lamp,* true, but it is a *light;* it does not cast its rays on the pilgrim's feet, but it illumines all around, it gives horizon, atmosphere, perspective, and it preserves the world from the horrible blackness which would engulf all things were we dependent only on the horn-lanterns carried in the hands of travellers, mere specks in Stygian darkness. So shine the far ideals of the human soul which would sink in despair and hideous night were it not guided and inspired by something more than books of etiquette, rules of conduct, State laws, governmental decrees, and earthly precedents.

Thus dwells imperishably in the human soul the idea of a Land of Hearts' Desire, a Happy Island, an Isle of the Blest, a Heaven, a Kingdom of God, a Commonwealth of Man, a Utopia, a Millenium, a Golden Age—a condition of perfect happiness and peace here or elsewhere. In that Better World happiness and peace do not depend upon organization, but on *regeneration,* not on systems but on *souls,* not on the strong

hand but on the *pure heart*. It is the realization of the dream.

WHAT OF TODAY?

Now then. what has this to do with the political conditions of our time? Everything. I contend that religious ideals should pervade politics and lift them out of the dirt. We are seeking to make a peaceful and happy world—not because Jesus and other reformers told us we ought to do so, but,—because our own minds tell us that it is right, and the proper aim of rational beings. Some of our friends muddle things up by trying to base everything on some New Testament precedent or precept, which can always be challenged, contradicted, confuted, disbelieved, and the very existence of the speaker reduced to a speculation. Let us be thankful for all encouraging examples, certainly —for Plato, Gautama, Micah, Jesus, Origen, Tolstoy— but let us be well assured that the root and source of our religious zeal and our political activity exist in our own natures, in our own intelligence, our own reading of history, our own estimate of human capacity, its power to build a real world on the seeming bubble of its dream, as the goddess rose perfect from the ocean foam. It is these inspirational elements in human nature that urge us forward towards a Commonwealth inspired by spiritual sanctions, in which moral influence will take the place of governmental decrees. The great Bibles of the world—including, of course, the Jewish and Christian Bibles—may be compared to a sackful of stuff which at first sight might appear to be nothing but a collection of rubbish. Upon closer examination, however, we discover among the refuse a number of infinitely precious pearls. While we disregard the superstitions let us preserve the prophetic imaginings enshrined in the great books of history, and let us bring them to the enrichment of contemporary life. I look forward to the time when the hateful word "Government"—that synonym for tyranny—shall be obliterated; when, being free, we shall neither need nor have, a "Government," but only an *Administration*.

FORCE IS FUTILE.

Further, if my ideas count for anything with you who hear me, I would say that while I think it stupid and futile for Governments to put Communists in prison, I also think it stupid and futile on the part of Communists to expect the Commonwealth of Man by force of arms. Revolutions are necessary in the long strides of human progress, but one revolution by peaceful persuasion and the moral consent of peoples would accomplish far more than all the bloody revolts of human story, from Egypt to Russia.

We do not require more laws. I would say even that we do not require *better* laws. What we require rather is the extinction of bad laws by simple ignoring of them, by going on our way as if they did not exist, and, if necessary, by passive resistance to them. So soon as we all refuse to fight, or to handle munitions, wars will cease.

> For time shall chance the despot's mood:
> And Mind is mightiest then,
> When turning evil into good,
> And monsters into men.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE.

On this subject of Revolution by Passive Resistance, I read to you the words of that great Pacifist Emancipator, William Lloyd Garrison: "Are we enough to make a revolution? No, but we are enough to begin one, and, once begun, it can never be turned back. I am for revolution were I utterly alone. I am there because I *must* be there. I *must* cleave to the right. I cannot choose but obey the voice of God. . . . I disarm every slaveholder and tyrant in the world. For wherever that principle is adopted, all fetters must instantly melt, and there can be no oppressed and no oppressor in the nature of things."

Even that worldly wise philosopher, William Paley, admitted, when writing on the duty of submission to civil government, that times might be when it was the will of God that governments should be obeyed "no longer." Yea, David Hume himself, that incarnation of conservative intellectuality—dared not deny that the right of resistence to ill government resided in every people, though he thought it as well that the fact should be kept secret from them. With all his knowledge, Hume had not learned that it is not the passions, but the *patience*, of the peoples that is most astonishing.

I am not dodging a critical issue. I do believe with all my reason as well as conscience, that violent revolution is a *mistake*. My conscience admonishes me that it is wrong; my reason informs me that it is ill-judged. It is as though a bricklayer, having built the wall of a house according to precise instructions from the architect, should hearken to the advice of some laborers who were totally ignorant of the plan, should kick his wall over, and demolish also the other walls built by his fellow-workmen. Violent revolution does not so much destroy the old buildings, as interfere with the erection of new ones built on a better model—the model of the Golden Rule, the Moral Law, and the Commonwealth of Man.

> For in conflict with the wise,
> Vain are armies, leagues, and lies!

From the Journal of George Fox I give you this quaint story illustrating how the Quakers in their own canny way got the better of their absurd persecutors. With two companions, George Fox came to a certain town in Devon, and there, as his own narrative proceeds, "Friends told us how they had broken up their meetings by warrants from the Justices, and how by their warrants they were required to carry friends before the Justices; and Friends bid them 'carry them then.' The officers told Friends 'they must go'; but Friends said, nay; that was not according to their warrants, which required them to carry them. Then they were forced to hire carts, and wagons, and horses, and to lift Friends into their wagons and carts, to carry them before a justice. When they came to a justice's house, sometimes he happened to be from home, and if he were a moderate man, he would get out of the way, and then they were obliged to carry them before another, so that they were many days carting and carrying Friends up and down from place to place. And when afterwards the officers came to lay their charges for this upon the town, the town's-people would not pay it, but made them bear it themselves; which broke the neck of their persecution there for that time. The like was done in several other places, till the officers had shamed and tired themselves, and then they were glad to give over."

FAITH IN MORAL POWER.

Splendid was the revolution thus wrought in England's civil and religious liberties by the passive resistance of the Quakers. Let us have faith in moral values.

The peace wrought by armed revolution is again an armed peace, which is no peace at all; and the victorious revolutionary frequently becomes as great a tyrant as the despot he has displaced. A soldier's peace is no peace at all. A murderer's peace is no peace at all. An assassin's peace is no peace at all. The peace that has to be maintained by more bayonets and more sentries, and more imprisonments, and more executions is no peace at all. We must act by good-will alone. We must not seek to avenge ourselves. We must not resist the evil-doer by trying to murder him. Let men simply refuse to fight the battles of the tyrant State; let women decline to make munitions; let dockers and railway men refuse to handle the munitions of war; let preachers of all sects refuse to enlist their God on the side of their country's war; or to betray Religion into the red hand of Patriotism. Just leave the tyrant State alone—ignore it—passively resist it—lo, it will wither away!

Peace, progress, knowledge, brotherhood,—
The ignorant may sneer,
The bad deny;
But we rely,
To see their triumph near.
No widow's groans shall load our cause,
Nor blood of brethren stain,
We've won without such aid before,
And so we shall again!

WALTER WALSH.

London, England.

Twelve Tests of Education

An ancient humorist defined education in this wise: "Education is that which enables a man to get along without intelligence; intelligence is that which enables a man to get along without education." According to this definition the three R's give way to Reeling, Writhing and Rheumatics; and he is therefore best educated, who in the words of Lord Brougham, "behaves like a fool." James A. Garfield once said his idea of an education was that of Mark Hopkins at one end of a log and a student on the other. Obviously then, one may assume that education is something more than a date-stuffing contest; and that a man may be educated regardless of whether he has spent four years at college. Pope's imperative substantiates this: "Then take him to develop if you can, and hew the block off, and get out the man."

This being the day of social measurements and score cards, when everything is put to the acid test, we have the right to measure an educated person, in order to discover what education has done either to or for him. If he can score by this test he is educated, no matter whether he is a college graduate, or a student in the great school of experience. It is needless to say that this measuring stick does not bear the official seal of the United States department of weights and measures. These are the twelve tests:

I. HUMILITY. Socrates said when a man comes to the place where he knows that he does not know anything, then he is growing wise. The man who says, "You can't learn me anything, I know everything," knows absolutely nothing at all. Humility makes a man tolerant, charitable and considerate of others' points of view; of the many things about which so much is to be known, and truly meek in a world where there is so much about which he knows nothing. Humility always arouses a thirst for knowledge, and a hunger for wisdom.

II. DISCERNMENT. All truths, ideas, convictions, traditions, customs and tendencies are not of equal value. For some of them men will give their lives; for others their pennies. St. Paul's educational commandment was, "prove all things and hold fast to that which is good." To be a judge one must possess a standard of values by which a decision can be rendered. Experience must have taught a man which values to espouse, and which to shun. Therefore, such an one does not accept something simply because it is new; nor does he reject it simply because it is old.

III. ADAPTABILITY. "New occasions teach new duties; times makes ancient good uncouth." Needs, conditions and circumstances are changing constantly. This demands that one must be able to adapt oneself to these outward changes without any sacrifice of contentment or effectiveness. It also implies that one must be able to adapt oneself with satisfaction and happiness to the ever changing conditions of one's inner, personal life, such as misfortune, sorrow, death and disappointment. "Though the universe slay me, yet will I foil it in its attempt to bring me to naught," so spake Epictetus.

IV. PERSPECTIVE. To see life steadily and to see it whole; to see today as part of yesterday, and yesterday as a part of today and tomorrow; to see a present tendency as an effect of a former cause; and again to see this present tendency as a cause producing other social, political and economic effects, is what an educated man does. He sees, "that throughout the world one increasing purpose runs." He knows "that Rome was not built in a day," and that "the eagle does not learn to fly in a day." Therefore, he is patient, calm, farsighted and tranquil.

V. MAGNANIMITY. This is something more than a "live and let live" policy. It is a deep-running desire to help others to live, even as one desires for oneself. In such an one, the law of survival has changed its operation from that of the fit as an end in himself, to a service of the fit for others. Greatness of soul is as important as greatness of mind, in a world where the whole man is dealt with. Not until one has discovered that the best things of life are most enjoyed when they are shared, can one claim to be educated.

VI. HONESTY. Honesty in arriving at judgments and expressing conviction; honesty with one's time, health and abilities; honesty in dealing with private and public affairs; honesty in the relationships of groups and individuals; honesty in earning and spending one's income—connotes an educated man. Is a man honest who takes all he can from the benefits of a community and refuses to give time, interest or money in return for the benefits he enjoys? Is a man honest who takes all the good the past has bequeathed him and then refuses to preserve that good for future generations?

VII. EXCELLENCE. Nature demands that we work to keep alive, but education demands that a man work well, and teaches him to find joy in work well done. This transforms toil into labor, and drudgery into pleasure. Technical information is useless unless it makes a man a beautiful workman, whether artist, mechanic or clerk. Efficiency must ever be subservient to excellence. And if anything is to be sacrificed, the lover of his art will always sacrifice efficiency. Earn-

ing a living, or making a livelihood is not a man's first need; it is the making of a life. Excellence of work and the beauty of holiness are one and the same.

VIII. Creativeness. Man must produce a sense of the worth of his own being in a universe of values by sharing in its process. To have made and to be making something, from a perfect mouse trap to a perfect poem, gives to one's selfhood a sense of permanence in an eternal scheme of things. In the process of creation the selfhood of him who creates comes to its fullest expression, and thus attains abundant life. This is what Carlyle meant when he prayed, "O, God, give us men who will sing at their work."

IX. Responsibleness, or sociality. A man must soon or late come to the point where he is anxious to share in the common life which all men live together. This makes for a good citizen, a serving citizen, a law respecting and a law fulfilling citizen. Here the individual conceives of his life in terms of the group as a whole, not to be exploited, but to be served, while it in turn serves him. Life is thus conceived of as a mutual affair in which all share and share alike.

X. Appreciativeness. Here is entered that higher world of soulful values of art, music, literature, drama, philosophy and history, which is the world of beauty, truth and goodness, where the individual feeds the deeper hungers of his being with the great spiritual food garnered by the ages. It means that one can find "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in everything." In short, it fills life with romance through the impact of the Divine everywhere apparent.

XI. Fortitude. This is the ability to stay with one's work, plans, hopes and dreams, in sunshine and shadow, through good and evil, firmly convinced that the crown belongeth to the victor. Here one has joined hands with the infinite, knowing that "a thousand years are but as yesterday."

XII. Idealism. At length faith, hope and love combine in the individual causing him to labor and sacrifice for today and tomorrow, with the full assurance that "nothing is cast as rubbish to the void;" and that sometime all our tears and all our joys shall merge into the splendor of the city of the light. With this quality stirring in his soul, Robert Louis Stevenson exclaimed, "I believe in the ultimate decency of things."

Whenever we find an individual who will score high in these twelve tests, we may rest assured that such an one is educated, no matter whether he or she has graduated from a college or university. The college has its place and function in our modern society. It can expedite the matter of educating the individual, just like artificial selection has taken the place of natural selection, and thus expedited the process of giving us better herds and flocks. But education is a spiritual life that must grow up in an individual's life through deliberate effort, discipline and nurture. A diploma from a college will no more make a man an educated being than a blue ribbon hung on a scrub bull will make him a thoroughbred. It's a matter of blood; in the case of the bull it is physical blood; in the case of man, it is spiritual life.

Cedar Rapids, Iowa. W. W. W. Argow.

ASPIRATIONS

[A Group of Poems]

I

God, up there in your sky house, with its tall lintels,
How could I invite you into this narrow hut of me?
There are not God-proportions here,
No God-stair for your descent,
No deep roof for your lofty shoulders,
No floors of a firmness for a God's tread.
I have no garden where you may walk,
No paths of fitness;
No wide night fields for your exultation.
I have not space for dawns and dreams—
No God-measurements for you, God,
No hospice for Sky-Kings.

II

God, what of this bundle of days
With which you sent me forth,
Like arrows in a sheath?
I have shot them here, and shot them there,
Reaching never the mark.
I have released them to an elusive goal,
Driving at shadows,
Piercing only the mist,
Never penetrating to substance,
With the barb never reaching to the heart of things,
Until it bleeds with the sure hand of me.

III

Have you no place for me, God,
A tiny star-chamber,
A blue moon-trellised room?
A place of lullabys and gentle croonings,
A restful place of quiet shadows,
A swinging cradle of soft runes?—
A sky-easement to this earth-grownupness,
A return to the great Motherness of You?—
The panacea for living,
The healing of life-wounds,
The calling home out of your command To Be.

IV

Oh, God, release me to ecstatic flight!
I saw a white-gold tree on the rim of infinity—
Let me spread my longing wings.
Release me to this God-soaring,
To the achievement of my white-gold tree.

V

Let me come with my praying life,
Here in the ashes of my misery,
Woe-laden,
Steeped in darkness.
God, restore me,
Show me the way,
Lead me.
Let the little child in me
Rise out of this miserable crone of me,
And grasp your guiding hand.

VI

Weaving them in glad folds about me,
In gold and silver strands for my radiant spirit.
And fabric of blue and fleece for the beauteous flesh of me.
Let me do proud this God that acclaims Himself
In purple thistle-flowers and golden-rod,
In crimson ash-berries and sumac leaves,
That presses Himself out of pink magnolia in bold blossoms.
And hangs His robustness in the tops of autumn trees.
Let me be true offspring of this Radiant Sire,
Continuing His meanings when He uttered a colorful creation.
When He inaugurated the day with a coral blare,
And closed it with a crimson paean,
Emblazoning the day with beauty-flame,
And hanging the night between silver star-streams
And a flowing blue moon.

Muriel Strode.

For Unity.

The Study Table

DREISER'S NEW NOVEL

Does Theodore Dreiser have a contempt for his art, or is he just a plain literary incompetent? Every novel that comes from his pen, not least this latest two-volume work,* raises this same question, for Mr. Dreiser is a serious novelist, of great latent power, who spoils everything by his unwillingness or sheer inability to meet the elementary demands of his art.

There is a Dreiser cult or claque, just as there is a Conrad group of the same kind. Everything that the master does, therefore, is hailed with a rapture that is as ecstatic as it is undiscriminating. The reception accorded this "American Tragedy," is no exception to the rule, except as it is more frenzied than ever owing to the fact that enthusiasm has been bottled up during the last ten years, and has thus become explosive. Critics of the Dreiser school have been whirling like the dervishes of India ever since this book appeared. It is incomparably the greatest novel in American literature —it is the supreme fiction achievement of our time— Dostoevsky never did anything better or even half so good! So chants the chorus. And the joke of it is, all this is true, from the standpoint at least of raw material. Here in "The American Tragedy" are all the makings of a novel of the first order. The background, the scene, the characters, the drama, all are substance for the hand of genius. Now and again, the hand moulds this substance into a masterpiece, as see the figure of Roberta, the factory girl, one of the most vital, appealing and finished characters that we have ever encountered in our reading. Always there is the impression of titanic power moving to vast achievement. This is the reason why, in spite of everything, we found the book so intensely interesting, and read it carefully through every one of its nearly nine hundred pages.

But—the book is raw material, and little else but raw material. Dreiser is only at intervals the master of his work and its design. He is moved by the story, not the story by him. He is caught in its multitudinous details, and sucked up as by a quicksand. There is no moulding of the substance to form, no subduing of the particular fact to the general concept. Everything that Dreiser has ever thought or imagined about his characters is here slopped over the reader like a deluge. There is no selection of the significant as contrasted with the insignificant, no discrimination, no perspective, no creative pattern. Of style there is not a trace, of beauty scarcely a glimpse. Why call such a book great—such a work a piece of art? As well call a stone-quarry an art-gallery, a paint-shop a Sistine Madonna. The whole thing to us is a tragic failure, just because it is a display of such colossal power gone to waste and wreckage, like a flood, because unmastered by man's mind.

Those who hail Dreiser as a genius are correct. But why do they not learn, and teach their master that even a genius—nay, most of all a genius—must master the technique of his art if he would achieve great things? This is an age of sprawl, hit-and-miss, contempt of discipline, any-old-thing-in-any-old-way. Just for this reason, perhaps, we are producing no masterpieces of the first order. Phidias was a genius, but he knew his trade better than any sculptor in Athens. Beethoven was a giant, but his symphonies and quartets are immortal not only because of their richness and beauty of material, but also because of their perfection of form. Some day our novelists and poets may learn that, if they are to produce great works, they have got to *practise* the technique of their art as Paderewski practises the piano and Kreisler the violin. If so, we may have some masterpieces again, and not misshapen abortions like this latest book of Theodore Dreiser.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

*"An American Tragedy," by Theodore Dreiser, published by Alfred A. Knopf. Two volumes.

TABLOID REVIEWS

The following four books are from the Macmillan Company:

Religious Experience and Scientific Method, by Henry Nelson Wieman.

While we may never know God completely, we may gain increasing knowledge of him by the scientific interpretation of the data of mystical experience.

The Key to Faith, by Michael Gershenson.

The key to faith, the essence of religion, is found in the exchange of the "will to differ for the preference to conform." One's consciousness must be open cosmically and socially.

The Church of the Spirit, by Francis Greenwood Peabody.

A wholesome but not very invigorating study of free and undogmatic Christianity.

Do Fundamentalists Play Fair? by William M. Forrest, professor of Biblical History and Literature in the University of Virginia.

A pungent indictment of fundamentalists; also, by implication, a rebuke to half-liberals who try the impossible task of harmonizing biblical mythology with scientific teaching. The author points out the unfairness of abusing one branch of science, when in point of fact all science contradicts the Bible. This is so because the men who wrote the Bible were children of their own times not of ours. The Mendelian law contradicts Jacob's method of animal breeding; astronomy contradicts Joshua's long day of slaughter; geology contradicts the story of six days of creation; philology contradicts the Tower of Babel; ethics contradicts God's notion of David as an ideal man; and psychology contradicts demon possession. Come to think of it, perhaps the author aimed a back-handed slap at near-liberals, as well as a solar plexus blow at fundamentalists!

Evolution and Religion, by Jabez T. Sunderland The Beacon Press.

In which is contrasted the biblical account of the origin and nature of man and the world with that of evolution, showing the inadequacy of the former and the reasonableness and beauty of the latter. The biblical account is one of many myths belonging to the childhood of the race; the evolutionary account is based on a careful analysis of innumerable facts. The author was one of the first men in America to proclaim from the pulpit the religious significance of evolution.

CURTIS W. REESE.

Correspondence

Self Government vs. Authority

Editor of UNITY:

Dear Sir: In an editorial reference to the anthracite coal strike, in your issue of March first, you say, "When will Society take over the control of industry? Some day we shall discover that private rule in private interest is as intolerable in the one case as in the other, and end it forthwith." This is the logical argument of the Socialist, but coming from one who professes approval of the teaching of Henry George it invites argument.

Henry George accepted the doctrine of natural rights proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence, and developed from that starting point an individualistic philosophy that stands as a challenge to Socialism, under which the interest of the individual is subordinated to that of the State. There is an irrepressible conflict between these two conceptions, no less clear than the conflict between freedom and slavery; in fact, it is the same struggle upon a vaster scale involving the whole human race. It is briefly the contest between self-government and submission to authority.

Has the general welfare been so faithfully served by the politicians that it would be wise to increase their control of industry? In spite of the lessons of the past the benevolent school of Liberals seems to share with the Socialists the delusion that the so-called representatives of the people possess a wisdom that was once erroneously credited to kings and aristocracies. Yet UNITY is constantly obliged to comment on the blindness and venality of our political rulers.

We know that the politicians in control of our destinies are more concerned with the multiplication of special privileges than with the general welfare. It is common knowledge that many of the men who are elected to office are in fact representatives of business groups—of bankers, railway operators, manufacturers, etc. Moreover, the official class develops interests that are in conflict with the rights of individual citizens. It favors legislation that will add to its numbers, that will call for more money to spend and more places to fill. It seeks centralization at home and expansion abroad.

The partnership between government and private business hastens this process. The partnership can be dissolved by allowing government to take over industry, as it has done in Russia, but the followers of Henry George believe that a better way would be to destroy monopoly and permit the individual to work out his own salvation without interference from officials who cannot understand, and who will not respect his interests.

You express regret that our industrial world "is ruled by competition and not cooperation, for profit and not for use in the spirit of selfishness and not of service, to the end of war and not of peace." But let us see if there is a necessary contradiction between competition and cooperation. The barriers that each nation raises against all the others—tariffs, embargoes, prohibition, interference with travellers and immigrants—restrict competition and at the same time prevent cooperation. These barriers are raised to give monopolies to certain groups or classes, and the result is that instead of free competition we have unnaturally intense competition among the workers who are excluded from land privately owned, and an artificial absence of competition among the privilege-holders.

Instead of creating a super-monopoly under the arbitrary command of government, destroying at once the hope of free competition and voluntary cooperation, these beneficent forces might be released by repealing the laws behind which monopolies are sheltered. Nature offers the worker unlimited opportunities for employment, so that under free competition he would not have to accept any job that was offered him or starve. Nor would there be anything to prevent the fullest cooperation. Profit can be made to appear evil only because it is confused with plunder where laws make it possible to exact tribute. In the absence of compulsion both parties to a trade profit from it. Self-interest in these conditions promises the greatest service.

It is a fortunate provision of Nature that in a free world men cannot advance their own fortunes without helping others. Cooperation is dictated by self-interest. The inhabitants of the world are drawn together by innumerable filaments spun in the processes of trade. Competition under freedom prevents no man from making a living. Service for service is a more robust and stimulating relationship than that which results from altruism, especially if it is a forced altruism. Human nature cannot be improved by the intervention of authority, no matter how benevolent its purposes. Coercion brings out all that is ugly in human nature.

Even-handed justice, a fair field and no favor, the square deal, express the ideal of *laissez-faire*. Freedom and equality of opportunity are best calculated to show off the good qualities latent in human beings. Industrial life is made up of private interests and there is good reason to think that these interests will fall into a peaceful pattern if they are allowed to do so. Secretary Hoover expressed a profound truth when he said recently, "The artificial suspension of the law of supply and demand is no parlor amenity."

The editor of UNITY acts like an Individualist when he attacks the tariff and gives aid and comfort to the victims of autocratic authority. How then can he wish to strengthen that authority which would reduce us in the end to the status of the French colonial administrator's native servant who describes his rights as "the free exercise of passive obedience"? The secret of autocratic power is to be found in the control of economic processes. Aware of this fact, Henry George took issue with the Socialists. Instead of giving the government complete control over industry, he offered a practical method for realizing the liberty that we talk so much about. It is a method that does not seem to appeal to the editors of Liberal journals.

F. W. GARRISON.

Pomfret Center, Conn.

Ways to Peace
I

Editor of UNITY:

Friend—In your issue of December 14th you say: "Against this flood of noble but ignorant fervor stands Senator Borah, armed with the enormous power of his official position as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, equipped with his superb ability as a lawyer, orator and creative statesman, convinced of the ineffectiveness of the existing Court to accomplish any works of peace, stirred by the vision of the opportunity now before America to use her present strategic influence to lead the world to a peace that shall endure."

Whatever else may be done, we cannot be sure of establishing a world peace which will endure, until we have learned how to establish real peace between the citizens of each nation. To do that latter we must establish the foundation for human harmony by making our monetary unit represent one hour of adult human work. That will make it impossible for anyone to use the monetary unit as a means of enslaving his fellows at home or abroad. Couple with that the establishment of mutual banks on which we can issue our individual and group checks on the hour for hour of work basis. And apportion all public expenses pro rata among the adult inhabitants of the territory covered by the expenses; and we'll have the foundation for lasting peace within each nation and between the peoples of all nations.

What we need is not to prohibit wars, but to remove the *incentive* for strife. At bottom that incentive is rooted in the idea that to get more work than we give in return benefits us. And the use of a transfer medium which represents something more than human work keeps that idea live and vigorous. But, when we learn that we'll be better off if we give work for work among ourselves; we will confine our efforts to get as much as possible with as little work as we can to getting that "much" from nature.

VAUGHN BACHMAN BROKAW.

Phoenix, Arizona.

II

Editor of UNITY:

Your efforts for Peace and against War are most commendable. Human progress, liberty and tolerance flourish only when the war spirit is absent.

In the consideration of the question as to how war can be avoided or abolished we often overlook the importance of a very essential factor in the war game. The great economic factor—territory—natural resources from which all wealth is produced by labor is the coveted prize of the victorious political war lords. The victors in war grab these valuable resources for private exploitation.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

Resolutions Passed by the General Council of the Union of Democratic Control, London, England

Armies of Occupation

"This Council is of opinion that, in view of the Dawes Settlement of Reparations, the Locarno Treaty of Mutual Guarantee and the entry of Germany into the League of Nations, there is no longer any pretext for the maintenance of armies of occupation on German soil and steps should be taken for their withdrawal at the earliest possible moment by Great Britain, France and Belgium."

Reduction of Armaments

"This Council welcomes the appointment by the League of Nations of a preparatory Commission for Disarmament. It urges the Government in the interval due to the postponement of the Conference to use its good offices to facilitate a settlement between the Russian and Swiss Federal Governments which will make it possible for Russia to be represented at Geneva. In default of such a settlement we urge the Government to propose that the Conference be held elsewhere.

"With regard to the standard which may be proposed for the Reduction of Armaments, this Council holds that the Allies in 1919, by the opening words of Part V of the Treaty of Versailles and by the terms imposed upon Germany, Austria, Hungary and Bulgaria, set a standard to which they themselves should speedily conform."

The Threatened Increase of the League of Nations Council

"That this Council rejects entirely any proposals to increase except by the admission of Germany, the membership of the Council of the League of Nations at the Special Meeting of the Assembly this month and regrets that any such proposals should ever have been entertained by the British Government since they are contrary to the understanding of honour by which Germany agreed to apply for admission to the League.

"This Council holds that the best way of dealing with the many conflicting claims for a seat on the Council would be by the appointment at the next regular meeting of the Assembly next September of a Commission to enquire and report on the matter."

Statement on the Attitude of the U. D. C. Towards Minorities in Turkey

Although the U. D. C. has successfully opposed (1) the taking away from Turkey of Mesopotamia, (2) the setting up of the State of Iraq under a Mandate, and (3) the insistence on a boundary to Mosul which has been obstinately resisted by Turkey, it is anything but indifferent to the fate of Armenians, or Assyrians, or Goya Christians, or any other groups of people remaining under Turkish rule, who may have suffered or may be suffering from deportations or cruel reprisals. The evidence of these things appear irrefutable; we give our deep sympathy to the sufferers and we hope that every effort will be made to save the remnant and to prevent further suffering. We are glad to co-operate in such efforts.

We believe, however, that the Western Powers have repeatedly contributed to the perpetration of these cruelties, by inciting sections of the people to rise in armed revolt against their Government; have misled these people; and have actually offered them what was not theirs to offer. We find that even now, subscriptions are being asked for in this country by Sir Henry Lunn, on the ground that these people fought for us and against Turkey in the war. The French used some of the notorious *Legion d'Orient* of General Allenby's army to fight subsequently in Cilicia. Such conduct can only awaken fear and anger, and the desire for revenge upon the nearest victims.

We hold that the proper policy for gradually establishing peace and toleration would be:

(1) That the Western Powers should cease to incite or encourage to revolt any section of the peoples under Turkish rule.

(2) That Great Britain should come to terms with Turkey, so as to enable the populations on both sides of the Brussels Line to settle down and so as to induce Turkey to believe that she would receive fair treatment if she entered the League of Nations.

(3) That the "autonomy and amnesty" for the Assyrians recommended by the Mosul Commission should then be amicably arranged.

(4) That meanwhile the Iraq Government should be helped to establish refugees on the South Side of the Brussels Line under the strictest precautions against their acting as centres of intrigue against the Turkish Government.

Christian Work
Merged With
The Christian Century!

The most significant development in modern religious journalism in the United States is contained in the announcement from Chicago of the merger of Christian Work with The Christian Century. Christian Work, which has been published in New York, will be combined with The

---

"White parasols and elephants mad with pride form the flower of a grant of land." Institutions making natural resources private property is the "fly in the ointment." Land monopoly is the negation of social justice.

The palatial homes of the millionaires and billionaires are made possible by this worldwide system of legal theft. The slums and poverty pinched districts with their undernourished and diseased inhabitants are the direct result of this unfair distribution of wealth.

The U. S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1916 reported that here is "the home of the brave and the land of the free." "The" rich "2 per cent of the people own 60 per cent of the wealth."

"The middle class," 33 per cent of the people, "own 35 per cent of the wealth."

"The" poor, 65 per cent of the people, "own 5 per cent of the wealth."

We have as yet not learned how to protect our birth rights but go stumbling along in the game of life with less than a gambler's chance.

Privilege flourishes the world over. Wars are declared and privilege extended until everything of value has been encompassed.

Social justice must first be understood by the masses. This accomplished, the ways of political war mongers will be more difficult.

R. A. Munro.

Spokane, Wash.

Gandhi and Tolstoy

Editor of Unity:

I'd like to know who is the author of that admirable contrast of Tolstoy with Gandhi. I want to take off my hat; shake hands and prepare to follow him to the ends of the earth; through hunger, cold, unspeakable miseries; for he writes as Christ taught and must find innumerable responsive hearts and voices who will labor with him and find true joy therein. I refer to the issue of March 8th.

Sincerely

Woodstown, N. J. Henry C. Lippincott.

Jenkin Lloyd Jones

Editor of Unity:

Enclosed please find postoffice money order, $3, in renewal of my subscription.

Unity, almost forty-six years old, goes on—the lengthening—not shadow—but lights of its founder and associates. I subscribed in 1880, at time of meeting Mr. Jones, and remember that one of his favorite expressions was: "Unity is the most ethical word in the language."

His heroic early economic self-sacrifice to keep the paper, with its name, going!—who shall say what it has done for the world at large? A great souled, great hearted man, who shall measure his work—which still projects its and its founder's name!

F. K. Gillette.

Los Angeles, California.

Christian Century beginning with the issue of April 1. By this merger, the two outstanding undenominational journals of religion become one, and a paper is assured which will play a large part in moulding the thought of the country. The publication and editorial office of The Christian Century will remain in Chicago.

It is hardly necessary to say anything to the church public of America regarding the importance of either of the papers involved in the current amalgamation. Christian Work, through its forerunner, the New York Observer, has had a career of more than a hundred years. At no time has its voice spoken more prophetically for an inclusive and free interpretation of the task of religion than during the last few years. It has given especial emphasis to the demand for world peace, Christian unity, and the social interpretation of the gospel. It has thus stood for years as a sort of journalistic expression of the convictions of religious liberals of all communions in the eastern states.

The growth of The Christian Century to its present position has been so recent and so rapid that it needs no recounting. Casting off all denominational limitations a few years ago, this journal has achieved an international circulation. While the editorial influence of The Christian Century has always been thrown on the side of advance, without fear of the retarding influence of religious institutionalism, it has never spoken as a mere free lance but always with a consciousness of loyalty to the church. Its independence is not that of an outsider but that of a responsible and sensitive insider, whose devotion has been as manifest as its independence. It has given enthusiastic support to the same causes which have been emphasized in Christian Work.

The editorial staff of The Christian Century has been enlarged, in view of this merger, to contain the active members of the Christian Work. Beginning with the issue of April 1 the editorial staff of The Christian Century will accordingly be: Editor, Charles Clayton Morrison; Managing Editor, Paul Hutchinson; Contributing Editors, Frederick Lynch, Herbert L. Willett, Henry S. Huntington, Reinhold Niebuhr, Winfred Ernest Garrison, Lynn Harold Hough, Joseph Fort Newton, Edward Schillito, Alva W. Taylor, Fred Eastman, John R. Ewers, and Thomas Curtis Clark.

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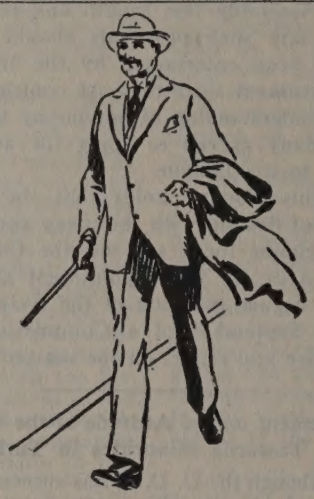

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